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Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 19971 01 OF 04 222041Z
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NESCO

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: UNESCO, AORD, ABUD
SUBJECT: UNESCO: ACTION PROGRAM FOR IMPROVED U.S. PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND PROGRAMS

REF: ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES' MEMO OF MARCH 20, 1978

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING REMARKS ARE PERM DEL'S SUGGESTIONS FOR ISSUE CATEGORY FIVE: REPRESENTATION. END SUMMARY
1. MAJOR MEETINGS FOR UNESCO NOW FORSEEABLE FOR 1979 ARE TWO SESSIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, THE FIRST IN APRIL-MAY, AND THE SECOND IN SEPTEMBER-OCTOBER. THE 20TH SESSION OF THE GENERAL CONFERENCE WILL TAKE PLACE NEXT OCTOBER-NOVEMBER, AND EVEN THOUGH WE HAVE NO SPECIFIC INDICATIONS AT THIS TIME, THERE IS ALWAYS A POSSIBILITY THAT A GENERAL CONFERENCE WILL SCHEDULE A SPECIAL INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE.
2. A. THE INFORMATION GATHERING CAPABILITY OF THIS DELEGATION IS ALREADY GOOD. WE HAVE ACCESS TO INFORM-ATION SOURCES IN ALL SECTORS, EITHER DIRECTLY THROUGH
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PAGE 02 PARIS 19971 01 OF 04 222041Z

SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS OR INDIRECTLY THROUGH OTHER PERMANENT DELEGATION SOURCES WHO ARE IN CONTACT WITH SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS NOT AVAILABLE TO US.
B. ONE AREA OF THE SECRETARIAT THAT WE MAY BE UNDER-UTILIZING AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION IS THAT OF THE AMERICAN EMPLOYEES. AT PRESENT, SOME AMERICANS ARE COMMUNICATIVE AND HELPFUL, WHILE OTHERS MAINTAIN A

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CAREFUL DISTANCE FROM THE PERMANENT DELEGATION,
PLAYING THE ROLE OF THE IMPARTIAL INTERNATIONAL CIVIL
SERVANT TO THE HILT. WE HAVE NEVER TRIED TO APPROACH
THIS GROUP SYSTEMATICALLY, AND IT IS POSSIBLE THAT
A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH WOULD BE DETECTED AND RESENTED.
NEVERTHELESS, THERE PROBABLY IS SOME UNDEVELOPED
INFORMATION GATHERING OPPORTUNITY AMONG AMERICAN
EMPLOYEES THAT COULD BE BROUGHT FORTH.
C. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT, OFTENTIMES, IT IS AS EASY
OR EASIER, TO OBTAIN INFORMATION FROM NON-U.S. STAFF
MEMBERS, AS THEY MAY HAVE LESS OF A PROBLEM WITH THEIR
STATUS AS INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS.
D. FOR THE MOST PART, THERE IS NOTHING THAT IS ANY
MORE MAGIC ABOUT COLLECTING INFORMATION IN UNESCO THAN
IN A TRADITIONAL EMBASSY-HOST GOVERNMENT SITUATION.
YOU MEET PEOPLE BY WHATEVER MEANS, GO AROUND TO SEE
THEM, TAKE THEM TO LUNCH, DO THEM FAVORS, BUILD UP
CONFIDENCE, AND THEN ASK QUESTIONS. ALL IT TAKES IS
TIME AND RECIPROCITY, AND A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF
REPRESENTATION FUNDS, OF COURSE.
3. THE DELEGATION CAN BETTER EXERT INFLUENCE IN
RELATION TO THE G 77:
A. IF IT HAS MORE FLEXIBILITY IN NEGOTIATING THE
LANGUAGE OF RESOLUTIONS. OUR PRINCIPAL AREA OF
INTERFACE WITH THE G 77 IN UNESCO IS IN THE POLITICAL
ARENA, AND OUR PRINCIPAL IMPEDIMENT IS THE RIGIDITY
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OF THE INSTRUCTIONS WE GET FROM THE DEPARTMENT ON
INDIVIDUAL WORDS AND PHRASES. THE UNITED STATES
IMPUTES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO SPECIFIC WORDS AND PHRASES
IN RESOLUTIONS. PERHAPS THIS IS BECAUSE WE ARE
CONDITIONED BY A RESPECT FOR WESTERN LAW, IN WHICH
SPECIFIC WORDS AND PHRASES CAN WIN OR LOSE A CASE.
WHATEVER THE REASON FOR OUR INTENSE CONCERN WITH WORDS
AND PHRASES, THIS CONCERN IS FREQUENTLY INCOMPREHENSIBLE
TO THE G 77, AND THEY LOSE PATIENCE WITH US. IT MAY
BE A SIMPLE CASE OF CULTURAL CLASH, BUT WE REPEATEDLY
ENCOUNTER SITUATIONS IN WHICH THE G 77 FEELS THAT IT
HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS TO US, AND CANNOT
UNDERSTAND WHY THESE CONCESSIONS WILL NOT BRING US TO
AGREEMENT JUST BECAUSE OF ONE WORD. WE ARE NOT
SAYING THAT THESE INDIVIDUAL WORDS AND PHRASES ARE NOT
SIGNIFICANT AND ARE NOT WORTH FIGHTING FOR, BUT WE ARE
SAYING THAT THEY BRING US INTO CONFLICT AND COST US
INFLUENCE WITH THE G 77.
B. BY REGULAR AND SYSTEMATIC CONSULTATIONS, WELL IN
ADVANCE OF THE TIME AT WHICH FORMAL SUPPORT (VOTES,
STATEMENTS) IS NEEDED, WE CAN ACHIEVE THE MAXIMUM OF

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PAGE 01 PARIS 19971 02 OF 04 222050Z
ACTION IO-14

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 02 OF 04 PARIS 19971

NESCO

OF ACCOMODATION AND OFTEN GET INTO A CONSENSUS POSITION
THAT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE ON SHORT NOTICE. THE
DIFFICULTY WITH ADVANCE PLANNING IS THAT VERY OFTEN THE
MOST CRITICAL ITEMS AT UNESCO MEETINGS ARE SPRUNG
WITHOUT NOTICE. BOTH THE DIRECTOR GENERAL AND OTHER
DELEGATIONS--MAINLY ARAB--DO THIS WITH WHAT APPEARS
TO BE THE DELIBERATE INTENT OF SURFACING A CONTENTIOUS
ITEM WITHOUT NOTICE SO THAT IT CAN BE RUSHED THROUGH.
HOWEVER, ON SUCH ISSUES AS MAJOR PROGRAM INITIATIVES,
OR THE CONTENT OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL CONVENTIONS AND
RECOMMENDATIONS, WHICH REQUIRE GENERAL CONFERENCE
ACTION, THERE FREQUENTLY IS TIME FOR ORDERLY, ADVANCE
CONSULTATION WITH OTHER PERMANENT DELEGATIONS AND
THROUGH CAPITALS.
4. THE U.S. WILL NOT HOST ANY MAJOR UNESCO CONFERENCES
IN 1979.
5. A. THE TECHNICAL EXPERTISE OF U.S. DELEGATIONS TO
UNESCO MEETINGS HAS GENERALLY BEEN GOOD. THE DEPARTMENT
HOWEVER, IS NOT FULLY UTILIZING THE EXPERTISE OF THE
PERMANENT DELEGATION WHEN IT FAILS TO ADD A MEMBER
OF THE STAFF TO A DELEGATION. THIS MAY OFTEN RESULT
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FROM THE DEPARTMENT'S CONCERN TO HOLD DOWN THE ABSOLUTE SIZES OF DELEGATIONS. WHILE FULLY UNDERSTANDING THE HISTORY BEHIND THIS CONCERN, AND WHILE AGREEING THAT THE DEPARTMENT MUST MAKE A CONTINUING AND INTENSIVE EFFORT TO PREVENT AN EXPONENTIAL GROWTH IN THE SIZE OF DELEGATIONS, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THERE IS JUSTIFICATION FOR SIMPLY NOT INCLUDING RESIDENT PERMANENT DELEGATION OFFICERS IN THE ANNUAL HEAD COUNT OF THE NUMBER OF DELEGATES SENT TO MEETINGS. ANY TIME WE DO NOT ADD TO A CONFERENCE DELEGATION THOSE PERMANENT DELEGATION OFFICERS WHO HAVE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE, THEN WE ARE PLACING THE HEAD COUNT ISSUE AHEAD OF THE SUBST ANTIVE INTEREST OF THE U.S. IN THE MEETING I N QUESTION.

B. WITH RESPECT TO THE POLICY-MAKING BODIES--THE EXECUTIVE BOARD AND THE GENERAL CONFERENCE--THE PICTURE IS DISCOURAGING. IN THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, FOR EXAMPLE, THE UNITED STATES, OVER THE PAST DECADE, HAS NOT AVERAGED AS MUCH AS A HALF TERM (A TERM BEING FOUR YEARS) PER BOARD MEMBER, AND IN THE PRESENT 1974-1978 TERM, WE WILL HAVE HAD THREE DIFFERENT INDIVIDUALS IN THE U.S. CHAIR. REGARDLESS OF THE CALIBER OF THE INDIVIDUAL, UNESCO IS TOO COMPLICATED FOR ANYONE TO MASTER ITS WORKINGS IN A SHORT TIME. EXPERIENCE AND CONTINUITY ARE INDISPENSABLE TO A GOOD PERFORMANCE AT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD. WE HAVE BEEN HAMPERED IN OUR PERFORMANCE AT THE EXECUTIVE BOARD BY OUR REVOLVING DOOR POLICY FOR FILLING THE CHAIR. THE DAMAGE COMES NOT ONLY FROM HAVING TO SPEND TIME AND RESOURCES SHEPHERDING AN INEXPERIENCED BOARD MEMBER, BUT ALSO FROM THE LOSS OF RESPECT ON THE PART OF OTHER PERMANENT DELEGATIONS AND SENIOR SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS THAT THIS CONSTANT CHANGING ENGENDERS. THEY SIMPLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DO NOT THINK WE TAKE UNESCO SERIOUSLY, OR WE WOULD NOT TREAT THE POSITION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBER AS WE DO. OUR MEMBERSHIP ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD IS NOT AUTOMATIC, AND WE CANNOT DISCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THERE MIGHT SOMEDAY BE A MOVE TO UNSEAT THE U.S. IF OUR PERFORMANCE DOES NOT IMPROVE. BOARD MEMBERS, IT SHOULD BE NOTED, ARE ELECTED BY SECRET BALLOT, AND BY NAME RATHER THAN BY GOVERNMENT. IF POLITICAL PASSIONS WERE HIGH AT A GENERAL CONFERENCE, OUR CASUAL TREATMENT MIGHT BE USED WITH TELLING EFFECT AGAINST US.

C. IF, IN THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, WE HAVE CONSTANTLY CHANGING MEMBERS REPRESENTING THE U.S., AT LEAST WE HAVE THESE MEMBERS SUPPORTED BY EXPERIENCED, PROFESSION-

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

AL STAFF. IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE, THE SITUATION IS SOMEWHAT REVERSED. WE GENERALLY HAVE HAD CHIEFS OF DELEGATION THAT HAVE HAD SOME PRIOR KNOWLEDGE OF UNESCO AND SOME EXPERIENCE IN INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES. AMONG THE DELEGATES, ALTERNATE DELEGATES, AND ADVISERS, HOWEVER, THE REVERSE IS TRUE. IF WE HAVE HAD A DELEGATION OF , SAY, 30 MEMBERS, 20 OF THEM WILL BE COMPLETELY NEW TO UNESCO AND TO INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCES. NO MATTER HOW TALENTED AN INDIVIDUAL MAY BE IN HIS DOMESTIC SPECIALTY, NO MATTER HOW MUCH EXPERIENCE HE MAY HAVE HAD IN OTHER KINDS OF CONVENTIONS AND CONGRESSES, A MAJOR INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE IN GENERAL, AND UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCES IN PARTICU-LAR, MAKE DEMANDS ON A DELEGATION MEMBER THAT ARE NOT ENCOUNTERED ELSEWHERE. THERE ARE RULES--WRITTEN AND UNWRITTEN--TRADITIONS, PITFALLS, PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR, AND A HOST OF EVILS THAT ARE FOUND ONLY AT THESE

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PAGE 01 PARIS 19971 03 OF 04 222049Z
ACTION IO-14

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 03 OF 04 PARIS 19971

NESCO

CONFERENCES. THE DELEGATE WHO HAS NOT BEEN THROUGH AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE PREVIOUSLY IS NOT ONLY OF LIMITED USE, HE MAY BE DANGEROUS BECAUSE OF HIS INEXPERIENCE. AS LONG AS A UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE DELEGATION IS CONSIDERED A PATRONAGE VEHICLE, THIS SITUATION WILL NOT IMPROVE, AND OUR CONFERENCE PARTICI-PATION WILL SUFFER. THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM IS TO CONVINCE THE DECISION-MAKERS T HAT THE INTERESTS

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

OF THE UNITED STATES AT A UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE ARE IMPORTANT ENOUGH TO WARRANT HAVING PROFESSIONALS RIGHT DOWN THE LINE, AND A GOOD PORTION OF THESE SHOULD ALSO BE SEASONED INTERGOVERNMENTAL CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS.

5. THE PROPER SIZE AND STAFFING OF THIS DELEGATION DEPENDS ON WHAT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE WANTS THIS DELEGATION TO ACCOMPLISH. IT TAKES AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM OF THREE OFFICERS JUST TO FIGHT THE NON-PROGRAM GENERAL POLITICAL BATTLES. YET, WE ARE IN UNESCO NOT FOR ITS POLITICS BUT FOR ITS PROGRAMS. EACH OF UNESCO'S SUBSTANTIVE FIELDS IS SUFFICIENTLY COMPLEX TO REQUIRE THIS DELEGATION TO HAVE A FULL-TIME EXPERT TO INSURE

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THAT OUR INTERESTS IN THE FIELD ARE PROTECTED. THOSE FIELDS CURRENTLY ARE: EDUCATION; THE NATURAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES; CULTURE, COMMUNICATIONS IN THE SENSE OF THE FREE EXCHANGE OF TECHNICAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL INFORMATION; AND THE ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA AS A SEPARATE ASPECT OF COMMUNICATIONS. IN ADDITION, WE HAVE A SPECIAL INTEREST IN UNESCO'S BUDGETARY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES, THEIR TECHNIQUES OF PROGRAM FORMULATION AND EVALUATION, AND IN PLACING AMERICANS IN THE SECRETARIAT. EACH OF THESE SUBJECTS WHOULD HAVE A FULL-TIME DESK OFFICER IN THE DELEGATION IF WE ARE TO BE AWARE OF ALL THE IMPORTANT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS, AND TO BE ABLE TO IDENTIFY AND ADVANCE THE U.S. INTEREST THUS, WITH THREE POLITICAL, FIVE PROGRAM, AND THREE SPECIAL INTEREST OFFICERS REQUIRED, WE REACH A TOTAL OF 11. WE CURRENTLY HAVE 7, AND WE ARE UNABLE TO MEET FULLY ALL OF THE REQUIREMENTS WE FEEL WE SHOULD BE MEETING. BUT WE ARE ALSO AWARE THAT THE STATEMENT OF PERMANENT DELEGATION RESPONSIBILITIES SET FORTH ABOVE IS MERELY THIS DELEGATION'S INFORMAL ASSESSMENT. UNTIL WE HAVE A FORMALLY APPROVED, CURRENT STATEMENT OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN UNESCO, WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO EVALUATE THE ADEQUACY OF OUR STAFF. WE PRESUME THAT SUCH A STATEMENT WILL RESULT FROM THE PRESENT STUDY.

6. OUR INTERACTION WITH THE OTHER DELEGATIONS OF THE GENEVA GROUP WOULD APPEAR TO PARALLEL THE SITUATION FOUND IN OTHER LOCAL GENEVA GROUPS. NORMALLY, WE CAN NOT AGREE WITH THE OTHER GENEVA GROUP MEMBERS ON THE MOST SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL ISSUE--THE OVERALL BUDGET LEVEL. HOWEVER, WE MAY BE BREAKING OUT OF THIS PATTERN IN UNESCO. IN OUR PRELIMINARY EXAMINATION OF THE DRAFT 1979-80 UNESCO BUDGET THAT TOOK PLACE AT THE APRIL-JUNE 1978 SESSION OF THE EXECUTIVE BOARD, THE

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UNESCO GENEVA GROUP REACHED A CONSENSUS (SUBECT TO MUCH STRAIN, BUT STILL A CONSENSUS) ON THE MAXIMUM LEVEL WE COULD SUPPORT FOR 1979-80. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THIS CONSENSUS WILL HOLD WHEN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE VOTES ON THE BUDGET NEXT FALL, BUT THE INTERACTION IN THE UNESCO GENEVA GROUP HAS BEEN MORE EFFECTIVE AT THIS PRELIMINARY STAGE THAN EVER BEFORE IN ANY OTHER LOCAL GENEVA GROUP.

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ACTION IO-14

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7. A VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF UNESCO IS NOW IN THE MAKING, AND IS EXPECTED TO TAKE PLACE IN EARLY JULY. IF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL IS RECEIVED AT A SUFFICIENTLY HIGH LEVEL (AT LEAST BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE) AND IS GIVEN TREATMENT THAT HE FEELS IS APPROPRIATE TO WHAT HE REGARDS AS HIS POSITION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, IT WILL HAVE A SALUTARY EFFECT ON US/UNESCO RELATIONS. IF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL IS DISAPPOINTED WITH THE RECEPTION HE RECEIVES, US/UNESCO RELATIONS WILL DETERIORATE.
8. THERE IS NO QUESTION BUT THAT THE U.S. AGENCIES

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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CONCERNED WITH EDUCATION AND SCIENCE ARE CAPABLE OF
PROVIDING THE INPUT REQUIRED TO ACHIEVE U.S. OBJECTIVES.
HEW ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION
ON THE OTHER, HAVE THE HUMAN AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO
DO ALL THAT IS NEEDED, AND THEY HAVE PROVED SYMPATHETIC
AND UNDERSTANDING I N CONTRIBUTING THESE RESOURCES TO
THE PERMANENT DELEGATION. IN THE SCIENCE AREA,
THERE IS A HOST OF AGENCIES THAT CONTRIBUTE LIBERALLY
TO THE SUPPORT OF UNESCO PROGRAMS. THE WASHINGTON
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AGENCIES THAT BACK US IN CULTURAL MATTERS ARE DIFFUSE
IN THEIR COMPOSITION, BUT WE HAVE BEEN SUPPORTED WELL
BY THEM. WE ARE ON SOMEWHAT SHAKIER GROUND WITH
RESPECT TO COMMUNICATIONS, IN PARTICULAR THE MASS MEDIA
ISSUE. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE RECEIVED EXCELLENT INTELLECTUAL
SUPPORT FROM THE WASHINGTON AGENCIES IN THE MATTER OF
PREPARING INSTRUCTIONS TO DELEGATIONS, DRAFTING
STATEMENTS, AND WORKING OUT LEGAL TEXTS FOR A POSSIBLE
DECLARATION ON THE MASS MEDIA, WE ARE CONFRONTED WITH
A MORAL COMMITMENT WE MADE IN 1976 AT THE 19TH GENERAL
CONFERENCE TO GIVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MATERIAL
ASSISTANCE IN BUILDING UP THEIR MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURES.
IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER OR NOT THE EXISTING
AGENCIES WILL BE ABLE TO COME UP WITH ENOUGH MATERIAL
ASSISTANCE, IN PROPER TIME, TO SATISFY DEVELOPING
COUNTRY NEEDS IN THIS RESPECT. THE U.S. WILL NOT BE
THE ONLY DEVELOPED COUNTRY TO CONTRIBUTE ASSISTANCE,
BUT IT IS LIKELY TO BE THE MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR IN THE
FIELD OF MEDIA INFRASTRUCTURE. TORRES

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